

MARQUESAN CULTURE

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 551
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the
attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated,
it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was
supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had
distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve
different members being named, the most honorable names
being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that 572
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his
own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use
the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the
victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with 552
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the
victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*,
or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa*
with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in
the same relation to his relatives as he did.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members
traced connection with an original ancestor, either through
actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters,
were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were
the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all
ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory,
611 to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that
611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[517] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
 784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

779 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.

[769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.

[531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
 428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
 611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
 611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is

[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father ad-

[564] ministered the household group until the child reached matur-

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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth. [554]

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women. [847]

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. [592, 595]

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, [592, 595, 842, 851]